

# British CP Reporter Defends Hungary Uprisings

## Daily Worker Banned Articles From Budapest

By John White

MANCHESTER, Nov. 16 — The British press featured today the public statement of Peter Fryer, the London Daily Worker's special correspondent in Budapest.

"I am convinced," says Fryer, "that Soviet intervention [in Hungary] was both criminal and unnecessary. The danger of counter revolution did exist. Austrian Communists told me that before November 4th some two thousand emigres, trained and armed by the Americans, had crossed into Western Hungary to fight and agitate. But power was in the hands of the armed people, and they were fully aware of the danger of counter revolution and were themselves capable of smashing it."

"The great mass of the Hungarian people," continues Fryer, "have no desire to return to capitalism and want to retain all the positive social achievements of the past twelve years. Nor did the Soviet troops which entered Budapest on November 4th fight fascists; they fought workers, soldiers, and students and they could find no Hungarians to fight alongside of them."

"These are the conclusions I reached after hundreds of interviews," Fryer continued. "No honest Communist can now ignore the truth about Hungary. The Hungarian people were the victims of tyranny and oppression masquerading as socialism. A corrupted Communist Party, swollen by the influx of careerists; a highly paid secret police (officers received ten times the national average wage, men three times) which jailed, tortured and murdered dissenters; a state machine warped by bureaucracy: these were the means by which the worst features of Soviet bureaucracy were imposed on Hungary. Yet the whole police regime was so rotten and so universally detested that it collapsed like a house of cards the instant the people rose to their feet. Most of the revolutionaries — Communists and non-Communists — hoped to win an independent, democratic and genuinely socialist Hungary. But their hopes were crushed by Soviet intervention."

"As the special correspondent of the Daily Worker in Budapest," Fryer writes, "I filed three dispatches to my paper. Two of them, for the most part straightforward accounts of what I had myself seen in Hungary, were not used. The other, an interview with a British Communist who has lived in Hungary for three years, was severely cut. The editor would not even allow the staff of the paper to read the story I sent on arrival in Vienna from Budapest last Sunday night."

### START OF REGENERATION

Fryer ends with this declaration: "In Vienna on Tuesday I was offered \$1,000 on behalf of an American newspaper chain if I would write for them on Hungary as a renegade. I answered that I had no intention of resigning from the Communist Party. I will fight inside the party for a return to socialist principles, for political honesty and for real international solidarity. These imply as speedy and outspoken condemnation of crimes committed by those who call themselves Communist as of crimes committed by imperialism. They imply the courage to form independent judgements instead of caricaturing solidarity and/or Marxism alike by accepting without question the Soviet version of events."

"Only in this way can we hope to cleanse from the British Communist Party the stain of having defended in Eastern Europe oppression no less brutal than, say, British rule in Kenya; and of defending Soviet aggression in Hungary while deploring British aggression in Egypt."

"Sooner or later the Hungarian revolution, tragic though its immediate outcome has been, must lead to a renaissance and redemption throughout the world Communist movement which for so long has been tainted with the worst features of the capitalist system which it seeks to end. The first step is that the truth about Hungary should be made known."

Peter Fryer's statement appeared on the same day as the publication of a declaration by the Political Committee of the CP which asserts the mass of the party has given "overwhelming support to the leadership," and baldly announces: "Today, despite the howls of the capitalist press the party tells the truth about the plans and activities of the fascist and counterrevolutionary elements inside and outside Hungary. . ."

### Study Stalinist Anti-Semitism



Repression of Soviet Jews has provided imperialism with a powerful propaganda weapon. Pictured above are a group of American rabbis who visited the Soviet Union last spring. Their reports of religious repressions have been widely publicized by the New York Times and Look magazine. On Nov. 9 it was reported that Soviet Jews were being deported from Western border areas of the USSR to Far Eastern regions. The Communist Party Yiddish-language daily, Freiheit, wired the Kremlin for a statement on this, Nov. 10. There has been no public response to Freiheit's request for information.

# THE MILITANT

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## Hungarian Workers Remain United; Still Defy the Kremlin

### Court Again Rules For Seamen in 'Screening' Cases

A major victory for thousands of American merchant seamen who are the victims of the secret police methods of the United States Coast Guard's "screening" procedure appears to have been won. Word was received here that the Coast Guard has finally decided to obey court orders directing it to issue valid papers to seamen deprived of them on the basis of unproved charges that they are "security risks."

If the report is true, it means that all seamen "screened" since the witch-hunt began will be allowed to sail unless and until the Coast Guard "proves" through "due process of law," its allegations against them.

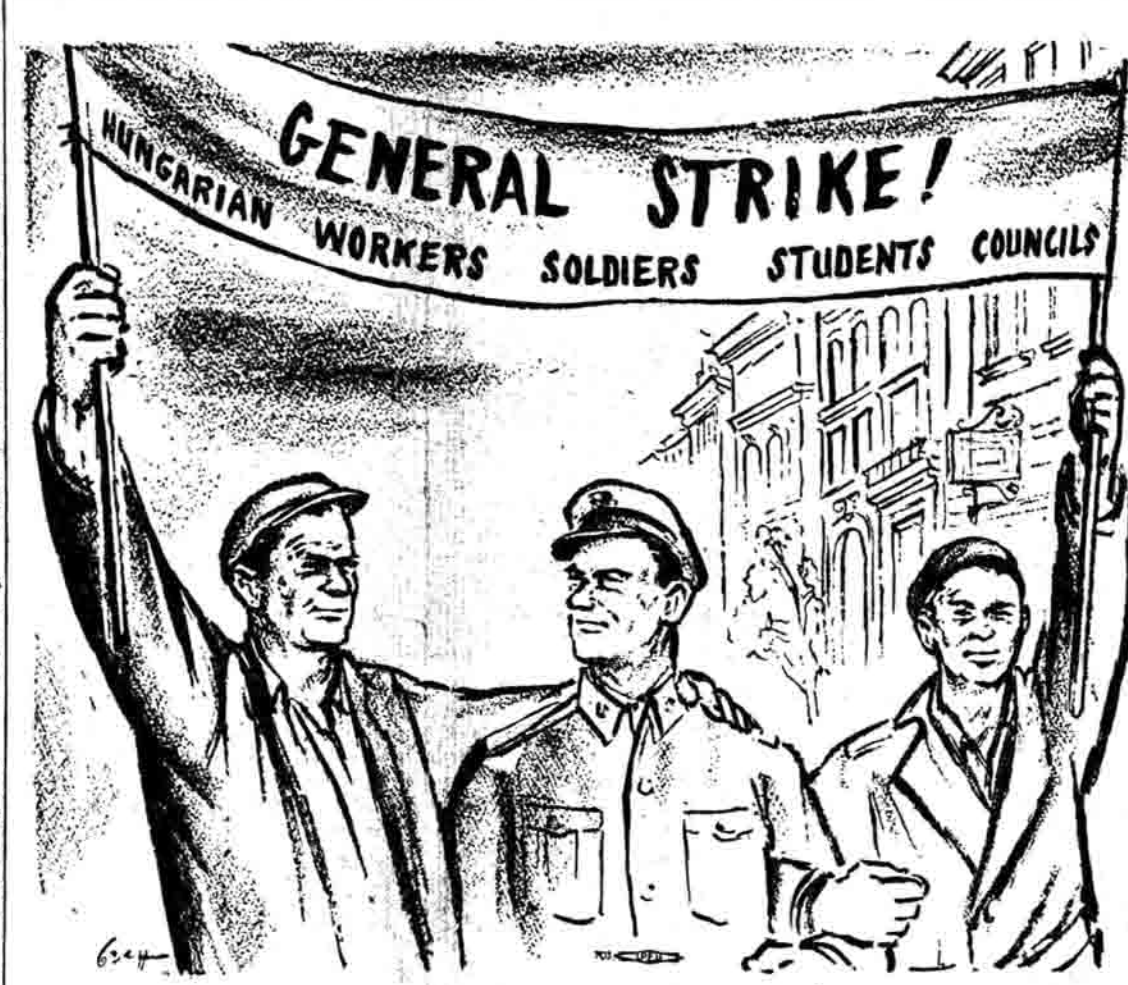
The Coast Guard may devise another "screening" system, but under the court orders, it must allow the seamen to continue working during the process. Moreover, the burden of proof now rests with the Coast Guard. These steps in themselves constitute a major victory against one of the most vicious parts of the thought-control apparatus which has been functioning in the U.S. since 1948.

### STILL AVOIDING CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE

The constitutional right of a seaman to employment, regardless of his political ideas, and the use of the Attorney General's "subversive list" as "proof" in "security risk" cases, were not at issue in the cases which resulted in the court orders. Those important issues may be taken into court once the Coast Guard sets up its new procedures.

The Coast Guard screening procedure has been used to silence and frighten or victimize militant unionists, fighters for racial equality, and anyone else whom the secret authorities didn't like. More than two thousand seamen have been "screened."

The latest development was precipitated by a mandate of the U.S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco, Nov. 15 of this year which ordered the Coast Guard to comply with an Oct. 1955 decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals that had declared the "screening" procedure unconstitutional.



## Supreme Court Rejects Request To Expedite Jim-Crow-Bus Ban

By Herman Chauka

NOV. 19—The United States Supreme Court today refused to cut through its own red tape to speed the execution of its Nov. 13 decision which declared segregation in public transportation unconstitutional.

The high court's anti-segregation decision was the result of action by the Montgomery Improvement Association, organized by the Negro community in Montgomery, Ala., to wage its 11-month fight to drive Jim Crow off the buses. MIA lawyers had previously won a decision from a Federal district court banning Jim Crow bus travel in Montgomery. This decision was immediately appealed to the Supreme Court by Alabama authorities. It was this appeal that resulted in the present anti-segregation decision.

The Supreme Court generally follows the procedure of issuing

an order to the lower court containing formal notice of its decision 25 days after the ruling has actually been handed down. MIA attorneys on Nov. 16 applied to Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black to have the present order issued immediately so that Montgomery's Negro citizens could resume riding the buses, this time on a non-segregated basis. After polling the other members of the Supreme Court, Justice Black announced his refusal to issue the order until the customary period of time has elapsed. This means the order will not be in the hands of the Alabama court before Dec. 12.

out the decision by their own action. "We are just going to sit down where there is a seat," declared MIA President Martin Luther King.

In Tallahassee, Fla., where a similar bus boycott has been waged for six months under the leadership of the Inter Civic Council, a drive is now being conducted to raise urgently needed funds. On Oct. 20 a local court convicted 21 leaders of the boycott movement on the phony charge of operating an illegal transportation system. The judge threw a 60-day suspended sentence with a year's probation, plus a \$500 fine at each of the defendants. The appeal now under way against this outrageous verdict requires a large amount of money—which the ICC does not have.

Contributions to aid these heroic fighters should be sent to

(Continued on page 4)

“WILL SIT IN ANY SEAT”

Ten thousand members of the MIA voted Nov. 15 to end their boycott of the bus system as soon as the high court decision is received by the Alabama court. They will then proceed to carry

(Continued on page 4)

## Kadar's Promises Distrusted; Strikers Continue Resistance

By George Lavan

NOV. 21 — The Hungarian working class has emerged from the furnace of armed revolt and the cold and hunger of a 29-day-old general strike with awe-inspiring heroism

and solidarity. Its determination was well expressed to Russell Jones, the last American reporter in Budapest. A spokesman for a group of factory workers on Nov. 19 told this United Press reporter: "The workers were so much united by last week's events that they will never fall apart again. The government must realize by now that the use of force is pointless."

The general strike continues to paralyze the country and to prevent the Kremlin-backed Kadar regime from achieving any stability. Although it is reported that 20% of the nation's workers have re-entered the factories, most of these appear to be conducting a sit-down, or folded-arms, strike.

For example, the government-controlled radio in Budapest reported that in the factories of Nyiregyhaza, though the workers had returned to their jobs, the furnaces had been banked again. This was because the workers' councils there had decided to send a delegation to the workers' council of Miskolc to determine whether the general strike was to be continued or not.

### NEGOTIATIONS WITH KADAR

Such reluctance on the part of workers to resume production would seem to stem from hope of reaching a settlement of the general strike. On Nov. 16, following an all-night meeting of Premier Kadar with leaders of the Budapest Workers' Council, the latter announced they would recommend ending the strike. The conditions were not made public but were rumored to include a three-stage withdrawal of Russian troops—first to barracks in Budapest, then outside of Budapest to their original bases in Hungary or the USSR, and finally negotiations with the Kremlin for their total withdrawal from Hungary—and for

mation of a coalition government.

It was reported in some instances that workers immediately deposited spokesmen who urged calling off the general strike. According to leaflets being distributed in Budapest the leaders of the Budapest Workers' Council were threatened by Kadar with deportation to the USSR if the general strike was not ended.

At this point it is not possible to determine whether the spokesmen for the workers agreed to the settlement willingly or under duress, or whether it was opposed by the majority of the workers or only by sections. In any event, the Budapest Workers' Council by a narrow majority voted to call off the strike.

### FOR WORKERS PARLIAMENT

On Nov. 18 a delegation of workers protested this decision to the Budapest Workers' Council. It demanded the election of delegates from factories and offices to a "Workers Parliament," which should be convened within a few days. This parliament, the promoters said, should elect new representatives to negotiate with the Kadar regime.

In addition to the lack of unanimity in the Budapest Workers' Council on returning to work, a new agitation rose to embitter the workers of Hungary. This was a protest against the rumored deportation of Hungarian youth to the Soviet Union. The New York Times of Nov. 19 reports that delegations of miners and oil field workers have been arriving in Budapest demanding an immediate end to deportations and withdrawal of all Soviet troops within three weeks. Otherwise they threaten to flood the mines and blow up the oil wells.

The Kadar government denies (Continued on page 3)

## Labor Leaders Alibi Results of '56 Elections

By John Thayer

America's top labor leaders put on a bold face when the election results came in. Passing over the Eisenhower landslide, which cut heavily into the vote of organized labor and the Negro people, as almost an act of God, their post-election statements dwell on the Democratic Party's retention of its slim majorities in Congress.

"Considering the record-breaking proportions of the Eisenhower victory," said, for example, AFL-CIO President George Meany, the Democratic victory in Congress "was little short of a political miracle. I am convinced it was due in large part to the educational work of labor." Labor, the newspaper of 15 railway labor unions, heads its story on the elections: "Big Victory Won By Rail Labor In Senate and House."

But so hollow is the "victory" won in Congress by the union movement, that the very same statements announcing them have to warn the workers to expect very little from Congress.

### 85TH WILL BE LIKE 84TH

Meany, for example, has to follow up his announcement of labor's "victory" with the following: "While the 85th Con-

gress will not be predominantly liberal, we now have renewed hope for accomplishing that objective in 1958." The AFL-CIO News (Nov. 10) forecasts: "The 85th Congress will be a carbon copy of the 84th both in terms of party control and political outlook. . . . There will be 10 new faces in the Senate with a slight net gain in outlook over their predecessors. . . . In the House a relatively small number of seats changed hands, 20 in all, with practically no change in the liberal-conservative ratio."

The news story in Labor (Nov. 10) warns that the significance of the Democratic Congress "should not be overestimated" by workers. "As in all recent years, actual control of Senate and House votes on vital measures will be in the hands of the old combine of reactionary Northern Republicans and equally backward Southern Dixiecrats."

Workers depending on the publicity of the union bureaucracy for an understanding of just what political influence the labor movement possesses today are probably somewhat puzzled. Disheartened by Eisenhower's landslide over labor-endorsed Stevenson, they revive to the statements about labor's "near miracle" in giving the Democrats majorities

in both Senate and House. Then they are told the new Congress will be no better than the old—reactionaries will dominate on vital issues. As a flip to this mixed brew the labor bureaucrats are declaring "renewed hope" for a liberal Congress in 1958.

"Wait old horse, and you'll get hay," the farmer used to tell old, faithful Dobbin. But Dobbin couldn't wait that long and died of starvation. While labor isn't going to die of starvation, it is



MEANY

getting mighty lean as far as political nourishment from the official policy of the labor bureaucracy is concerned. And if it keeps on waiting, as Meany, Reuther and all the other top labor bureaucrats advise, it's going to get a lot leaner.

The fact is that the labor-liberal wing of the Democratic Party is weaker in inner-party councils than before the elections and will probably be further weakened. While the labor leaders claim the Democratic Congress as a vindication of their policies, the Southern Democrats reject this view and claim it is a justification of their policies.

Which is correct is not the important point in the dispute. What is involved is who shall decide the political line of the Democratic Party for the next four years. Liberal labor murmurs that subordinating themselves to the Southern wing of the Democratic Party lost millions of labor and Negro votes, have been the signal for the Southern Democrats to flex their muscles. They control Congress completely. Johnson of Texas runs the Senate, Rayburn of Texas runs the House. Southern chair most important Senate and House committees. They are going to run Congress on white-

supremacist, anti-labor lines and are warning that they will tolerate no nonsense from Northern liberals of their party who want a less reactionary line.

### LABOR PARTY VOICE

A hopeful sign that the recent election defeat for the AFL-CIO political action program is causing workers to re-examine the

### New Jersey Vote For Dobbs-Weiss

Unofficial election returns from most of the counties of New Jersey show that Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice-President, Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, have received over 4,000 votes. Unofficial returns in the 12th Congressional District show 303 votes for SWP candidate Daniel Roberts. An official count of the votes received by minor parties, to the extent they are counted, will not be released by officials in New Jersey and other states where the SWP was on the ballot until some time in December. When available, they will be reported in the Militant.

whole policy of staying in the Democratic Party and of trying to haggle a compromise program out of the Dixiecrat and Big Business elements, which really control that party, comes from Local 6 of the United Auto Workers-CIO in Chicago. This local was unusually energetic in the campaign for Stevenson-Kefauver. Two days after the defeat its bulletin, Union Voice, asked: "What happened? And where do we as workers go from here?"

Its answer is clear: "The leadership of the AFL-CIO should convene a conference of all the unions, farm organizations, and liberal organizations to evaluate the political situation today towards the end of establishing a Farmer Labor Party prepared to enter the Congressional elections in 1958. NOW IS THE TIME!"

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## Foster's Pretension To Leninism

By Harry Ring

The development of the struggle within the Communist Party has served to make clear the political character of that faction in the Party leadership led by Daily Worker editor John Gates. Their desire to dissolve the Communist Party into an amorphous league and to abandon any pretense of a class struggle program demonstrates the extent to which they have buckled under the pressure of U.S. imperialism.

Reacting against the liquidationist aims of the Gates group, a number of militant workers in the CP have turned for leadership to Party Chairman William Z. Foster who presents himself in the fight as the champion of a Marxist-Leninist, class struggle program.

But where does Foster differ fundamentally with Gates on program? Like Gates, Foster is 100% in favor of supporting the Democratic party. And all of his "left" phrases about an "eventual" farmer-labor party cannot erase the fact that supporting the Democratic party, a Big Business party, constitutes not class struggle but class collaboration. With his support to a capitalist party, Foster is not defending the class line. He is crossing it.

Foster's pro-Democratic Party line does not flow merely from alleged "tactical" considerations. It derives from a basic class-collaborationist perspective. As recently as October 1955, Foster wrote in Political Affairs that he anticipates the development of a peace movement "which will embrace not only workers and other democratic elements, but also important sections of the bourgeoisie and even of monopoly capital itself." If this perspective is the basis for a class-struggle program then Sam Gompers was a super-Bolshevik.

Supporters of Foster have correctly scored the Gates tendency for its efforts to adapt to American capitalist public opinion. But does Foster and those in the leadership associated with him offer the alternative of genuine proletarian internationalism? The attitude of the leading Fosterites toward the Hungarian and Polish events demonstrates that their conception of internationalism boils down to a virulent, Stalinist-type defense of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

### STAND ON HUNGARY

At a recent Jefferson School symposium on the CP Draft Resolution, Abraham Unger presented the Foster viewpoint. Discussing the use of Soviet troops to crush the uprising of the Hungarian workers, Unger proclaimed that the only mistake made by the Kremlin was that it did not send the troops in soon enough.

What a graphic picture of Foster's "class-struggle" line this presents. In the U.S. "important sections of the bourgeoisie and even of monopoly capital itself" are regarded as a force for peace and progress. But the revolutionary Hungarian proletariat which is waging a struggle for national liberation and workers' democracy are "Horthy-lovers" to be shot down by Kremlin tanks.

This same grotesque caricature of "Leninist internationalism" is exhibited in a letter by Unger to the Oct. 29 Daily Worker condemning the Gomulka regime in Poland. The fact that the pressure of the workers forced Gomulka to demand and get a small measure of independence from Kremlin dictation is branded by Unger as a "setback to socialism."

Unger very generously concedes that "socialist collaboration (with the Soviet Union) placed severe burdens on the Polish leaders." And with true bureaucratic arrogance, he adds, "They were called upon to fill quota tasks in which they failed." The fact that these "leaders" were handpicked Kremlin agents is ignored by Unger who also supported them until they failed to keep the Polish workers in line.

Ignored also by Unger is the fact that the quotas were onerous ones, arbitrarily established by Kremlin ukase. And completely ignored is the fact that these quotas pumped products into the Soviet Union at the expense of the living standards of the Polish masses, for the products were paid for at only a fraction of their value.

Unger unblushingly asserts, "There is not the slightest evidence of Russian interference with Polish sovereignty." Khrushchev's unsuccessful attempt to dictate the composition of the Polish CP Politburo with the threat of armed intervention is undoubtedly the freshest example of such "non-interference" with Polish sovereignty.

In the classic language of great-Russian chauvinism, Unger proclaims that "the non-exploiting collaboration of the two states, one big and powerful, the other small and weak, has been a true example of Democracy." (Our emphasis.)

Unger's indictment of the Poles reeks of the approach originally employed by Stalin in 1922 when he launched repressions against the people of Soviet Georgia whom he branded as "social-nationalists." In three letters, made public after the 20th Congress, Lenin sharply attacked Stalin and those associated with him in this chauvinistic business.

Lenin insisted on the need to grant concessions to national minorities and declared, "A Georgian who takes a scornful attitude toward this side of the matter, who scornfully flings out the charge of 'social-nationalism' (when he himself is not only a 'social-nationalist' but an uncouth great-Russian bully)... damages the interests of proletarian class solidarity."

Excoriating the Ungers of that time, Lenin wrote, "Internationalism on the side of the oppressing or so-called 'great' nation (although great only in its violence, great only in its sense of brutality) must consist not only in observing the formal equality of nations, but also in such inequality as will make up on the side of the oppressing nation, the big nation, for the inequality which in fact arises in life. Whoever does not understand this does not understand the proletarian attitude toward the national question." (Political Affairs, November 1956.)

Lenin's stand on the Georgian question applies with a thousand times more force to the problem of Hungary and Poland today. His words provide a crushing refutation of the counterfeit "Leninism" of Unger and Foster.

# Aims of the Hungarian Revolution

By Daniel Roberts

According to the Kremlin, Tito, the Kadar government and all their apologists down to the Daily Worker, the use of Russian troops against the Hungarian people is justified because a "counterrevolution" is in process in Hungary. Thus Kadar has given as his official excuse for the use of Soviet troops the following: "The reactionaries are working for their selfish aims... They want to return the factories and workers to the capitalists and the land to the landlords." "Reactionary elements... an unleashed, fascist reactionary mob" is how Tito recently described the Hungarian workers and students fighting for national independence. From their side, apologists for

capitalism have sought wherever possible to obliterate the social aims of the Hungarian revolution and to portray the heroic movement as a national independence struggle against "Communism," presumably in favor of capitalist democracy.

Both Kremlin apologists and capitalist spokesmen lie. In previous issues of the Militant, we have already shown that socialism is the aim of the overwhelming majority of workers, students, soldiers and intellectuals in the revolution. They have raised the demand for national independence entirely within that context. Here is additional documentation to further prove the point.

Presented below are: (1) Pronouncements of the workers'

councils in major industrial areas since the start of the Hungarian revolution on Oct. 23 as well as statements by student, army and intellectuals' committees. (Most of the items we print have been taken from the French press by La Verite, French Trotskyist newspaper.) (2) A policy statement by the Nagy government. (3) Admissions by the Kadar government. (4) Admissions by capitalist restorationist elements.

### THE WORKERS' COUNCILS SPEAK

At Miskolc, in the industrial region of Borsod, factory committees formed a unified Workers' Council. On Oct. 24, the Council demanded a government "in the spirit of Bela Kun and

Laszlo Rajk." On Oct. 25, the Council demanded a government "composed of communists devoted to the principle of proletarian internationalism, who are above all Hungarians and respect our national traditions." The Council adopted a seven-point program including the right to strike, free elections and unification of all councils in a "sole and unified powerful movement." The Council sent a representative to Nagy to inform him that he would receive their support only if he acted to obtain the removal of the Russian troops and the withdrawal of Hungary from the Warsaw Pact.

At Sopron, a "Committee of National Liberation" was elected by secret ballot by shop delegates from all the factories. To the Committee were elected a number of Communists. The Austrian Socialist Deputy sat in on the Committee's debates and testifies in the French newspaper, Demain, that "they are absolutely opposed to the restoration of the old regime of Horthy."

At Gyor, a "Revolutionary Committee" of 20 members was elected by secret ballot from all the shops. The Committee published a newspaper that carried a manifesto from one of the leading factories in the city. The manifesto declares: "We are categorically opposed to demagogic slogans and to the formation of a counter-government that would provide the basis for foreign intervention which could transform our country into another Korea." The Committee chose as its presiding officer Attila Szegetti, a Communist, who, on Oct. 28, warned over Radio Gyor: "Troublesome elements with fascist and counterrevolutionary tendencies have mixed in among the insurgents. We don't want a return to the old capitalist system. We want a Hungarian that is independent and socialist."

On Nov. 2, the United Federation of Hungarian Youth declared: "We don't want a return to the fascism of Admiral Horthy. We will not give back

the factories to the capitalists or the land to the landlords."

On Oct. 29, the Revolutionary Committee of Hungarian Intellectuals issued a manifesto, which saluted the revolution of the Hungarian youth and thanked the Soviet soldiers who "refused to shoot at our revolutionary fighters." The Committee also issued a nine-point program as follows: (1) Immediate withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Hungary. (2) Immediate cancellation of all commercial agreements [with the Soviet Union] unfavorable to Hungary. Publication in the future of all commercial agreements. (3) A guarantee of general elections by secret ballot. (4) All factories and mines to belong to the workers. (5) Revision of all wages and production quotas. (6) Trade unions must be organs that are really representative of the workers with elected officials. A similar type of organization for the agricultural workers. (7) Management of agricultural cooperatives by private individuals, not state functionaries. (8) Financial and legal compensation to farmers for injustices they were forced to suffer. (9) October 23, the anniversary of the revolution, shall be declared a national holiday.

The Nov. 5 Militant already reported on the eight-point program issued by Hungarian army officers on Oct. 23. Point five of their program called for the "creation of Hungarian socialism on a really democratic basis." It remains to be added that the Revolutionary Committee of the Army, which had issued the above program, demanded that Nagy should take a Communist officer as his Defense Minister. This was Gen. Pan Maletier, hero of the fighting at the Killian barracks, Oct. 23-Oct. 28. Maletier was a militant Communist of long standing before he became an officer.

On Nov. 4, the Soviet troops were ordered to crush the Hungarian revolution. One of the last two revolutionary radio stations to operate was Radio Rakoczy. It launched an appeal to the Soviet troops that said in part: "Soldiers. Your state has been created at the cost of bloody fighting in order that you shall have freedom. Today is the 39th anniversary of that revolution. Why do you want to crush our liberty? You can see that it is not the factory proprietors, not the land-owners and not the bourgeoisie that has taken arms against you, but the Hungarian people fighting for the same rights for which you fought in 1917."

On Nov. 14, the workers' councils of Buda (Buda and Pest are twin cities) declared that ending the general strike was contingent on the granting of four demands: (1) Reorganization of the Kadar government to meet the will of the people. (2) Free elections for parties which declared their readiness to accept the country's "socialist achievements." (3) Release of all insurgents. (4) Immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Budapest and negotiations for their withdrawal from all of Hungary.

On November 4, as the Soviet troops were ordered to march a second time against the Hungarian revolution, Gesa Losonczy appealed to the revolutionary councils in the country for backing to the Nagy government. In the name of that government he said: "The government declares unanimously that it will not make a single concession pertaining to the positive conquests of the last twelve years, such as the agrarian reform, nationalization of the factories and the social conquests. It insists equally that the conquests of the present revolution remain intact—equality of rights and the building of socialism not by dictatorship, but on the basis of democracy... The govern-

ment is resolved not to tolerate the restoration of capitalism in Hungary."

### WHAT KADAR PROMISES SHOW

The Kadar government has alternated between slander of the revolutionists and promises to fulfill their aims. The promises consequently become an indication of the real aspirations of the Hungarian working people and give the lie to Kadar's charge that the Hungarians were engaged in counterrevolution. Thus a Budapest government radio broadcast by the Kadar government on Nov. 6 (the day after the regime was installed by So-

### "9,000,000 Fascists"

According to the Nov. 16 New York Post, the following notice was posted recently in a Budapest store:

"Nine million Fascist counterrevolutionaries, all former factory owners, bankers, cardinals, remain hidden in the country. Their main strongholds are the aristocratic residential districts of Csepel and Ujpest [both working class districts]. Fortunately there are still six real Hungarians left who have built a government to save the country."

viet tanks) stated: "What really happened in the last two weeks? The working people through bloody sacrifices won its rightful claims, its national independence and its liberty. These brilliant successes were applauded abroad and we do not want to change them... Kadar and the others who formed the new government are working in the interests of the revolutionary youth movement, the workers and the peasantry... The workers are to elect their own leaders in the factories, the compulsory delivery of agricultural produce is to stop..."

Again, on Nov. 13, the Budapest radio announced that workers' councils had been approved retroactively by the government. "The workers' councils will have the right to make decisions, and directors are obliged to carry them out," the radio said. "Part of the new profits of factories will be distributed among the workers according to decisions of the workers' councils."

### MINDSZENTY DISCLAIMER

"At no time during the course of the revolution did even the capitalist restorationist openly champion the return to capitalism. While their intention was without question to bring such a return about, this aim had to be masked with declarations of loyalty to the existing social foundations of Hungary. Thus, Cardinal Mindszenty, faithful servant of the Horthy regime, was compelled to declare on Nov. 4: 'I declare that the question of restoration of the political system that existed before the war had never been raised in the course of the fight for freedom. Accordingly, nobody wanted the exploitation of the working class in the future.'"

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## Factory Meeting in Poland



A mass meeting at the Zeran plant in Warsaw held shortly after the new regime headed by Wladyslaw Gomulka was set up in defiance of Kremlin edicts, Oct. 21. As Gomulka negotiated in Moscow on Nov. 18, young workers and students demonstrated and fought police in Bromberg, according to the Polish newspaper Express Wiezorne, after the announcement that the new agreement with Moscow did not provide for withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland.

## Gomulka Backs Kremlin Puppet To Get Concessions from Poland

By Fred Halstead

The new Polish regime headed by "Titoist" Wladyslaw Gomulka signed an agreement with the Soviet Union this week which gives Poland important economic concessions, but contains at the same time what is in effect support by the Polish government of the Kremlin's brutal attack on the Hungarian revolution.

The agreement resulted from talks held in Moscow Nov. 15 to 18 between delegations of Soviet



GOMULKA

leaders headed by Khrushchev and Polish leaders headed by Gomulka. The entire Polish debt to the Soviet Union, amounting to the equivalent of \$600 million, was cancelled and a two year credit for 1.44 million tons of wheat and a 700 million ruble loan were granted to Poland. In addition the "independence" of the Polish Party and government was publicly announced by the Kremlin, and the Polish government was promised the right to veto Soviet troop movements in Poland. The troops, however will remain.

The outlines of the agreement were announced in a joint statement released in Moscow Nov. 18. The section of the statement dealing with Hungary reads: "Both sides will give support to the revolutionary workers and peasants government..." This is the name "both sides" give to the Kadar regime imposed on the Hungarian workers by Soviet bayonets and tanks. Gomulka thus lined up with the Kremlin butchers against the Hungarian revolution.

When Gomulka returned to

Warsaw from the Moscow talks, he was greeted at the railroad station by a crowd of 5,000 (although his arrival had not been announced), besieged with bouquets of flowers, and cheered when he said: "We talked with our Russian comrades as equals." However, according to Sydney Gruson in the Nov. 20 New York Times, "There was considerable unhappiness about that part of the Moscow declaration dealing with Hungary... A better reflection of Polish feelings on Hungary was provided today by the youth newspaper, Sztandar Mlodych. The paper sharply assailed Glos Pracy, the trade union newspaper, for having printed reports trying to whitewash Soviet behavior in Budapest."

KREMLIN PLUNDER This solidarity of the Polish masses with the Hungarian revolution has more to it than sympathy, or the fact that the Hungarian events strengthened Gomulka's bargaining power. The terms on which the Polish debt was canceled reveal the conditions of economic subordination and distortion to which the Eastern European countries have been subjected by the Soviet bureaucracy. The Soviet leaders admitted that the Poles had been forced to sell their major export, coal, to the Soviet Union at well below the market price since 1948.

Such conditions prevail in the rest of the Eastern European countries. The terms of this agreement help reveal the limitations of the Gomulka regime in the development of the Polish revolution. On the one hand, concessions are won for Polish independence, on the other hand, Gomulka fails to defend the principle of independence for the other East European countries, especially for another country besides Poland where a fight for that independence is going on. But socialism cannot be built in one country, and Poland cannot become independent on her own.

The road to economic progress for Poland lies through economic cooperation with her neighboring states, a cooperation based on voluntary federation, not of subordination to the Soviet Union. So long as the other East European states are subordinate to the Soviet Union so must Poland be. She has gained some relief from the worst abuses of Kremlin economic domination, but she has not gained

the opportunity for direct economic development with her neighbors because those states themselves have not gained their independence.

In addition, the betrayal of the Hungarian revolution weakens the struggle against Kremlin domination waged by the Polish masses. The Soviet troops remain within Poland as a constant threat to the development of workers' democracy and national independence, both of which are necessary for the further economic development of Poland, and the solution of the workers' problems.

### TRADE UNION OVERTURN

The powerful mass pressure to throw off bureaucratic rule was revealed at the plenary session of the Central Council of Polish Trade Unions which was held in Warsaw at the same time the Gomulka-Khrushchev talks proceeded in Moscow. The council used to be composed of 120 accredited bureaucrats, but

at this meeting, "more than 1,000 delegates from factory meetings jammed into the council chamber," says a Nov. 16 Associated Press report. "For two hours," the report continues, "the meeting argued whether the 'unofficial' delegates from factory meetings were eligible to vote. It decided they were."

The old leadership of the council was thrown out and a new one elected. The report by a committee set up to reorganize the council listed three weaknesses of the old body: 1. "Bureaucratic centralism." 2. "Trade Unions lost their independence." 3. "They dogmatically accepted the interests of the Party and the Government as identical with those of the trade unions."

In ridiculing, Wiktor Klosiewicz, the replaced chairman of the council, one young delegate said: "A factory truck driver had to work 16 hours a day to earn 1,400 Zlotys a month. How much was Klosiewicz paid?" The answer was 40,000 zlotys a month.

### CP Rank-and-File Outraged

Editor, Daily Worker:

Friday night I attended a New York Communist Party meeting called to discuss the Hungarian events. A majority of the speakers and the audience opposed the position of the Daily Worker and the resolution of the National Board on the Hungarian crisis.

Several people spoke scathingly of "emotionalism" and demanded we support proletarian internationalism by supporting the Soviet Union's action in Hungary. I answer—yes, I am emotional! I'm emotional on behalf of the working class of Hungary, and of the Hungarian people. I am a Communist, and I am a human being. The supporters of the Soviet action say it had no choice but to bring in troops to save "socialism."

What kind of "socialism" did they have in Hungary, that after twelve years the workingclass of Hungary, the youth of Hungary (raised under "socialism") felt it had to take up arms against the government, and is still fighting and striking after two weeks of bloodshed, hunger, and all kinds of promises and threats.

I have been a member of the Communist Party for 19 years and a member of the YCL for five years before that. When the "Stalin revelations" broke last Spring, many members felt this

would be the end of the C.P. I felt there was still hope, that if we really analyzed and corrected all our mistakes we could still become the party to lead the American people to socialism.

But now I do not want to belong to an organization whose members feel socialism should be imposed on the ends of bayonets. This is not the socialism I worked for and dreamed of.

I do not feel the speakers or audience at the meeting reflected the majority of the Party. I urge all our members to speak out and write to the Daily Worker.

—T.M.

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## Titoism and Stalinism

As the heroic Hungarian workers continue to defy Kremlin troops and tanks, they find all official leaders of the Communist Parties denouncing their struggle and reviling it. Tito is also of that number. In a speech broadcast over the Yugoslav radio on Nov. 15, Tito endorsed the butchery of the Hungarian workers by the Kremlin troops on the plea that the Soviet Union had intervened to stop a "counter-revolution."

The uprising of Oct. 23 was a legitimate revolution, Tito said, and the Soviet Union was wrong in sending its troops against that rising. But then, he claims, "the reactionary elements intervened in the revolt and exploited it for themselves."

### NO CONFIDENCE

Tito berates the Stalinists in the Kremlin and the East European governments for showing "insufficient confidence in the Socialist forces of these people," (the Polish, Hungarian, Rumanian, etc.). But he himself disregards that which is before his eyes — namely a demonstration of the great power of the only genuine socialist force in Hungary — the working class — fighting to establish workers' democracy against the armed forces of the Kremlin.

Yes, capitalist restorationist forces did try to exploit the uprising of Hungarian workers, students and soldiers. But if the working class has been able to wage such an inspiring battle against overwhelming Kremlin forces, why couldn't it have been counted on to dispose of the fascist and other restorationist riff-raff? Tito doesn't even try to answer this question. He contents himself with parroting the Kadar and other Kremlin lies about the allegedly "counter-revolutionary" character of the Hungarian workers' fight.

As a matter of fact, Tito, for all the criticism of Stalinist methods he voices in his speech, is riveted to the Stalinist brand of politics. Stalinism is more than bureaucratic methods. It is a political system rooted in a bureaucratic caste and its thirst for privileges. That political outlook is nationalist, conservative, opportunist and counter-revolutionary.

Under the slogan of "socialism in one country," Stalinism has readily sacrificed the struggle of the working class in all other countries (and bureaucratically repressed the working class at home). Thus Stalin engaged in one cynical deal after another with imperialism, bartering away the legitimate socialist aspirations of Communist workers for the sake of an economic or military alliance with one imperialist power or another. To Stalin, the Communist parties existed only for

the purpose of harnessing the working class for use in such deals.

Stalin manipulated with the working class movement in this fashion all the more readily because he, and the bureaucratic caste he headed, were mortally afraid that a successful revolution elsewhere in the world would detonate a political revolution against the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin, continue his essentially counter-revolutionary policy at the expense of the world working class movement.

Tito for his part, trained in the Stalinist school and heading a bureaucratic formation in his own country, knows no other kind of politics. After the Kremlin break with Yugoslavia in 1948, the Titoists did, it is true, advance for a short while some internationalist working-class conceptions. But they quickly liquidated any genuine adoption of a revolutionary stand when the Korean War broke out. In exchange for U.S. economic aid, the Titoists turned their backs on the Korean workers and peasants and gave support to the imperialist "police action" in the United Nations.

Now, the Titoists have made their peace with the Kremlin overlords. They have secured the recognition of "their own road to socialism" — the Titoist version of the Stalinist slogan of "socialism in one country." They have also obtained substantial economic concessions from the Soviet bureaucracy. In exchange, they lined up — with no matter how many sighs and admonishments addressed to the Soviet bureaucrats — in the counter-revolutionary drive of the Kremlin in Hungary.

### THE WORKERS' AIMS

Gomulka, Poland's Tito, in the name of struggling to achieve Poland's "own road to socialism" and for the sake of a few economic concessions from the Kremlin, has also lined up against the Hungarian workers.

The Hungarian workers fight for national independence for diametrically opposite reasons than motivate the Stalinists of the Khrushchev, Tito or Gomulka variety in their nationalist outlook. They fight to organize their own class forces and rally their most immediate allies — the Hungarian peasants and students. Their fight is revolutionary because it aims at emancipating all the oppressed and exploited. That is why the Hungarian workers can be counted on in the further course of the struggle to identify themselves with the struggle of the workers in the rest of Eastern Europe, the entire Soviet orbit, and indeed of the entire world.

## Advice from Asia to Israel

(The following editorial is reprinted from the October issue of Jana, The News Magazine of Resurgent Asia and Africa, published in Colombo, Ceylon. Jana's viewpoint generally reflects that of the Nehru regime in India. It has been friendly to Israel in the past. The editorial anticipates the recent gang-up on Egypt by Britain, France and Israel.)

One of the alarming trends resulting from the Suez crisis is the view taken of it by some sections of opinion in Israel. These elements have seen in the conflict between the West and Egypt a chance to strengthen Israel's position in the Middle East against the Arab states by providing the Western powers with a base for attack on Egypt in the event of war.

This trend in Israel coincides with a similar development in certain political circles in the West, who argue that the time has come for Britain and the U.S. to abandon even the pretence of neutrality in the Arab-Jewish conflict. They declare that the time has come for the West to go all out to arm Israel so that she can be used as a powerful ally in the Middle East.

It is no accident that the Suez crisis has been followed by an exacerbation of Arab-Jewish conflicts, by violent clashes on the Israel-Jordan frontier, and by Israeli threats against Egypt.

There is, therefore, a distinct danger that in the current struggle between Western imperialism and Egyptian nationalism, Israel may be converted into a pawn on the Western side.

Israel has recently been looking for sympathy and support to the independent countries of Asia. But if she were to go wholesale into the Western Camp, she would completely alienate the Asian countries from her cause. For what would be at issue in such a situation would not be Arab nationalism vs Jewish but Asian and

African nationalism against — Western imperialism.

Israel cannot in the long run gain any salvation by lending herself to Western military plans; if she does so she will only reduce herself to a position of colonial dependence on the West. . . .

In the Suez dispute, the principles involved are the right of a nation to assert its national sovereignty and its right to take all legitimate steps to build up its economy. These are principles of immediate relevance to all countries which have recently emerged from colonialism and are striving to raise the living standards of their peoples. That is why, for Asia and Africa, support for Egypt's cause should be a matter not only of justice but also of self-interest.

Israel, too, is a poor country which is faced with similar problems. If she shows no understanding of the justice of Egypt's cause, if she aids Western imperialism to crush a people whose only crime has been that they want to rid themselves of their poverty, she will be guilty of treachery to the common struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa. In such an event the other countries of Asia and Africa would have no alternative but to regard her as an imperialist puppet.

It is true that Israel is concerned about her own national existence. But her problems with the Arab states cannot be solved by going over to the West and selling her independence in return for Western protection. The least that Israel can do is to remain neutral in the Egyptian-Western conflict, and have nothing to do with Western war plans or provocation against Egypt — a step which should open the way towards more harmonious relations in the Middle East.

# A Japanese Reports on His Country's Politics

By Ota Ryu

JAPAN—It is my purpose to present for the readers of the Militant a picture of the political situation in Japan.

The present cabinet headed by Hatoyama, was born in December 1954 as a cabinet of the Democratic Party that did not have a majority in the Lower House of the Diet. It acquired a majority after the general election in February 1955 at which time it formed a coalition with another capitalist party — the Liberals.

The Hatoyama Cabinet was formed when the former Yoshida cabinet, which was closely tied to U.S. imperialism, had lost the confidence of the people and Yoshida, himself, had been thoroughly criticized for the "ship-building scandal" and other "defects of policy."



SHIGERU YOSHIDA (r.), former Prime Minister of Japan, shown with Gen. DOUGLAS MACARTHUR in New York. Yoshida, closely tied to U.S. imperialism, lost out in 1954 to Premier Hatoyama, whose popular strength is now declining in favor of the Social Democrats.

The initiative for the criticism in this severe crisis of the Japanese parliamentary system was taken, not by the workers' parties, but by other conservatives — namely Hatoyama's Democratic Party (organized in November 1954), which was hostile to Yoshida. When Hatoyama became premier, he promised to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and with the USSR and to promote the completion of the social security system. These promises obtained for him most of the votes that had formerly gone to Yoshida.

### SOCIAL DEMOCRATS GAIN

But Hatoyama's Cabinet has lost credit with the Japanese since he became Premier two years ago. For instance, a survey by Yomiuri (one of the largest newspapers in Japan) reports, Sept. 22, that Liberal-Democratic Party's support decreased 35% and the Social Democratic Party's support increased 31%. Furthermore, a number of local elections resulted in the defeat of conservatives.

These facts would indicate that now the capitalist class finds it difficult to rule through its own parliamentary parties and that it has to employ other tactics.

One of the tactics is to call on the Social Democrats. In fact, from May 1947 to October 1948, the Social Democratic Party was in a coalition cabinet with the Democratic Party, headed at that time by Ashida, and it helped to repress the movement of the masses. Because of the anti-working-class role it played, the ranks of the party opposed the coalition with the capitalist class. But that is not to say that the Social Democratic Party was not help to prop up the capitalist government once again.

Just the same, the Japanese economy has no margin for the kind of reforms that the Social Democrats have promised. The richer capitalist class in, say, England or Western Europe, might be able to afford reforms such as the Social Democrats promise to give here. But not the Japanese.

The Japanese Social Democrats have pledged to establish a minimum wage of 8,000 yen per month. Their promises would require almost 18 billion yen for subsidies for small enterprises, to raise public civil servants' official wages, to subsidize farm income, to give complete social

security coverage, to provide for universal compulsory education and to launch public works. Unless they were to transform the social system and establish a planned economy, the Social Democrats would not find the means to make good on these promises.

### FASCIST GROUPS

However, the abolition of capitalism and the creation of a planned economy is the last thing the Social Democratic leaders are capable of achieving. If they were to come to power in the near future, they would turn on the workers as they did in 1947-48, and these would desert them for the sake of a revolutionary solution. Because they can anticipate such a development and greatly fear it, the Japanese capitalist class is extremely reluctant to invite the Social Democrats to take over the reins of government.

Another tactic open to the capitalist class, and the one it is now pursuing, is to strengthen police repressive measures within the framework of capitalist democracy. Thus, the Hatoyama Cabinet has succeeded in passing several bills curbing the labor movement. However, the political situation for the capitalist parliamentary parties continues to deteriorate. And this might lead sections of the capitalist class to resort to yet another tactic — namely the promotion of a fascist movement.

At present there are many fascist-type groups in Japan. Two of them are especially noteworthy. They are Sokogakai and Gokukudan. Sokogakai is a group of fanatics, and its candidates in the last election for Councillors polled 960,000 votes. It consists of petty-bourgeois elements and unorganized workers who are the poorest-paid sections in society. Although it has already acquired a mass base to some extent, its ideology does not as yet have the distinctive features of fascism. In contrast, Gokukudan is a typically old-fashioned fascist group with distinctive fascist ideology and leadership. But it has no mass following.

### THE CP

At present, the Stalinists do not have a great deal of influence in the unions, although the Communist Party is said to have 16,000 members in the unions. For the most part, the union leaders are Social Democrats, es-

pecially Left-Wing Social Democrats.

The Stalinists insist that they are the true representatives of the Russian Revolution, and they have considerable influence over radical-minded people, who believe this claim.

Now that they are going full blast with the slogan of "peaceful coexistence" — the modern version of "socialism in one country" and of class-collaboration — their ideology pervades many left-wing petty-bourgeois circles.

But the decline of international Stalinism that started last February at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has also affected

the Japanese CPers. Their activities are weakened by the doubt, unrest and quiet decomposition that is going on in the Communist Party.

Japanese society is moving to a deadlock in class relations and this foreshadows a showdown battle between the working class and the capitalist class. The key to whether this struggle will have a progressive or reactionary outcome depends on the building of the revolutionary party. It is to the task of building such a party, based on the principles of Trotskyism, that a number of individuals in Japan are bending all their efforts.

## British CP Hit By Resignations

By Jim Gray

LIVERPOOL, ENGLAND, Nov. 15—Gripped by a severe crisis ever since the 20th Congress, the Hungarian events threaten to tear to shreds the whole monolithic structure of the British Communist Party. Each passing day brings fresh news of outbreaks of revolt and further departures from its ranks. What yesterday were smouldering embers of discontent, today, are angry flames that promise to engulf the entire organization and its politically corrupt leadership.

John Horner — General Secretary and J. Grahl, Assistant General Secretary of the Fire Brigade's Union have both publicly resigned from the party this week. Keeley, Parry and Gunter, all members of the Union's Executive have also thrown in their membership cards. Keeley and Grahl joined with former Stalinist hatchet man Les Cannon — E.T.U. Educational Officer — in calling for the dissolution of the Communist Party. A fellow full-time official in the E.T.U. has also resigned with Cannon — this man Wallis is the Union's Yorkshire Organizer and he mentions that there are more resignations on the way.

### UNION HOLD BREAKING

On Friday, Nov. 9 an astonished C.P. rank and file learned from the capitalist press that the "Daily Worker" cartoonist, Gabriel had made his break. The "Worker" printed this 24 hours later. Alex Moffat, brother of Scotland's leading Stalinist, Abe Moffat, and himself a party member for 32 years broke over the Hungarian question. Moffat is a member of the Scottish Mineworkers' Executive.

These breaks in the F.B.U. and in the Mineworkers' Union are from the Stalinist point of view most serious. Both the E.T.U. and the Fire Brigade's Union have for years been considered the impregnable domains of the CP. Now their machine-like grip is beginning to disintegrate.

University lecturers, Thompson and Saville, who were the editors of the internal opposition paper, "Reasoner," have also announced their break. Thompson and Saville are urging ex-party members to keep together in local groups in order to discuss theory and policy. They have also stated that they intend to publish a paper.

A further bombshell that has fallen in the laps of the King St. hacks is the statement of Peter Fryer. Fryer was the correspondent of the "Daily Worker" in Budapest during the insurrection. Prior to the Russian ultimatum, Fryer wrote in the "Worker" pointing out the working class nature of the revolt and stressing the fact that it was neither anti-socialist nor fascist in character. Compelled to take refuge in the British Legation Fryer is now out of Hungary and has announced that he intends to tell the story to the non-communist press.

He describes himself as being "horrified and very distraught." Quoting from Chesterton's "The Man who was Thursday" he says: "Now I have also seen the featureless face behind the monolith." This on the spot reporting from its correspondent, has up to now been suppressed by the "Daily Worker," on the instructions of the National Executive.

### Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

Review of Current Events  
Friday, Nov. 30 — 8 PM  
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### TROTSKY WORKS READ

This ever sharpening struggle between the best elements of the CP, who are genuinely seeking a socialist answer to the crisis facing their party, and the pale shadows of the Kremlin, who desperately attempt to adapt themselves to every twist and turn in the situation forced upon them by their Moscow masters, is preparing the way for a real unification of the left forces. For the first time in 30 years or more the works of Leon Trotsky are being read by the ordinary members of the CP. Once again, the ideas of revolutionary Marxism are being discussed inside the branches and in the aggregates. These are ideas that must inevitably gain more and more ground as Stalinism withers in its death agony.

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## .. Hungarian Defiance

(Continued from page 1)

that any Hungarians have been deported to the USSR. A workers' delegation protesting to the Soviet commander in Budapest was told that he had ordered no deportations. However, under questioning, he admitted that some other office or unit might have. This leaves open the possibility that the rumored deportations have been the work of the NKVD, the Soviet secret police.

The past week has made it crystal clear that the Hungarian working class is the motor force of the national resistance to the Kremlin overlords. In the confusion of the fighting of the first weeks of the revolution, foreign correspondents centered their attention on the politicians, intellectuals, students, Cardinal Mindszenty, etc. Yet even then it was the working class, and particularly, its youth, which was the core of the revolutionary movement.

With the crushing of armed opposition by Russian tanks, the movement would have been ended were it not for the general strike. This has served to render unmistakable the central role of the workers and the auxiliary role of all other classes and segments of the Hungarian society in the national uprising. Whatever restorationist elements may have participated in the general revolt of the first weeks are now conspicuous by their absence, while the whole burden of national resistance is being carried on by the working class.

The Hungarian working class carries with it in its general strike for Hungarian national independence the sympathies and hopes of the peasantry. This is demonstrated by the fact that the Budapest strikers are being largely supplied with food by the peasants of the surrounding countryside.

### NO BLACK MARKET

In an attempt to stop this important material support to the strikers, the Kadar regime has ordered that all food must be distributed only through government food stores. As part of its work-or-starve policy, the government is trying to induce strikers back to the factories with promises of hot meals on the job and free delivery of food to their families.

Despite the food and fuel short-

age there is no black market in Budapest. This is an indication of the high morale of the strikers and the support of all classes for them. Black markets have triumphed over official patriotism in all capitalist countries during war time and military occupations. Black markets were considered as "irrepressible" as the profit motive or the old Adam. Yet the popular unity behind workers' uprisings, such as that in Russia in October 1917 and the present one in Hungary, has by common consent made black marketeering a cardinal sin.

Russell Jones, UP correspondent, reports on Nov. 17 from Budapest: "It is difficult for cynical reporters to realize that they have been unable to unearth a black market in food. Workers, unpaid since the fighting started Oct. 23, are being supplied free by farmers and suppliers in the city."

So solid is revolutionary opinion on the subject that it is news when someone attempts to black market on food. Here in its entirety is a Nov. 19 Associated Press dispatch from Budapest about one unregenerate free-enterpriser: "A peasant woman moved into the big free market near Budapest's Moscow Square today, offering eggs at 10 forints (about 90 cents) each, instead of the usual 2.6 forints (23 cents). Housewives, infuriated that there should be an attempt of profiteering, pounced on her and broke all her eggs on her head."

### TROOPS ISSUE

An important reflection of the degree to which the Kadar government is under the pressure of the masses, is seen in its public reaction to the Soviet-Polish agreement signed Nov. 18 in Moscow. Nepszabadsag, the government-controlled newspaper and the Budapest Radio both criticized the government agreement because it provided for the continued stationing of Soviet troops in Poland. This, said the Kadar spokesmen, caused apprehension that the Kremlin would insist on the same arrangement in Hungary. It pointed out, hopefully, that such, however, need not be the case for, while Poland faced West Germany, which was armed and occupied by U.S. troops, Hungary faced neutral Austria.

Unconfirmed reports and rumors of large scale defections by Soviet troops in Hungary, and even of fighting between troops newly arrived from the USSR and those "infected" by having been long garrisoned in Hungary, persist. Moreover, stories are being circulated that large numbers of Soviet deserters have crossed into Yugoslavia and have asked asylum. Whatever may be the truth of these reports, there can be no question that during the military phase of the Hungarian uprising there were numerous cases of individuals and even groups of Soviet soldiers who refused to shoot the Hungarian revolutionaries and who even gave them arms and, in some cases, joined them.

This, in no small measure, was a result of fraternization of the revolutionaries with the Soviet soldiers and propaganda appeals to them.

### EFFECTS IN USSR

Undoubtedly such propaganda has had a great effect upon the Red Army soldiers. Moreover, to the extent that Red Army units in Hungary were from oppressed nations within the USSR, such as the Ukraine, the nationalist as well as working-class aspirations of the revolutionists would evoke an echo in the hearts of the soldiers. It may well be that the lengthy deployment and then re-inforcement and now replacement of Soviet divisions in Hungary is based not on purely military considerations but on the degree to which troops have been infected with revolutionary sympathies.

That the Hungarian events are causing repercussions in the Soviet Union itself may be deduced from the report of Khrushchev's stern warning to students in the USSR. Khrushchev made this speech two weeks ago to the Young Communist League in Moscow. He declared that "enemies" made special efforts to deceive the youth. He spoke of vigilance in rebuffing "unhealthy phenomena" and bluntly warned that malcontents would be exiled from universities.

As the series by Brigitte Gerland in the Militant (Jan.-March, 1955) showed, a revolutionary movement among Soviet students calling itself the True Works of Lenin, arose after the end of the war. It played the leading role in the organization of the great strikes in the slave-labor camps of Vorkuta and elsewhere during the summer and fall of 1953.



## Property Rights vs. Democratic Rights

Another legal victory in the war against Jim Crow was won last week when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled bus segregation in Alabama unconstitutional. But before we do too much celebrating, let's recall the experience with the Supreme Court ruling against segregation in public schools, and prepare for the fight ahead.

The rulers of the Deep South states have succeeded in preventing desegregation of schools in the areas where the ruling would affect the most children, and they have announced their intention of doing the same thing with the latest ruling "outlawing" Jim Crow buses.

Why is it possible for the Southern ruling class to get away with it? The answer lies in the contradictions in capitalist democracy itself.

Liberal defenders of American democracy try to tell us — and the world — that we have a system of government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." That we elect our representatives to legislate, administer and enforce the laws with "liberty and justice for all."

### PROPERTY RIGHTS, SUPREME

But we, and the rest of the world, know that the reality is quite different from this one-sided picture of capitalist democracy.

The other side, the decisive factor, is that our economy and all our social institutions based on it, are capitalist, that is, our economy operates on the basis of production for private profit, or not at all.

Whenever there is a conflict of interest between democratic rights and property rights, the government, a capitalist institution, defends property.

Montgomery, Ala. and Tallahassee, Fla. are good examples. In both cases Negroes are simply demanding their democratic right to equality of treatment on the city buses. When they pay their fare, they want the right to pick one of the available seats, the same as anyone else.

Denied that democratic right, they chose not to pay their fare, and to organ-

ize a substitute means of transportation. But when they did that they came in conflict with a "higher right" under capitalism, the right of the bus companies to own property and make a profit from it.

That is why, on Oct. 20, a Tallahassee city judge fines 21 Negroes \$500 each and gave them suspended sixty-day jail sentences for operating car pool to boycott the city buses. They were convicted of running an illegal public transportation system without a city permit or a state "for hire" license.

The defense pointed out that no evidence had been presented to show that the riders in the car pool paid the drivers, or that the pool was in actuality a business activity.

But that was precisely the "crime" of the Negroes of Tallahassee: they hurt the profit system by organizing and operating transportation on a non-profit basis.

As the prosecutor contended, the operation had endangered "every franchise the city has ever issued."

Similarly, in Alabama on Nov. 13 a circuit judge granted a temporary injunction to stop Montgomery Negroes from using a car pool for transportation during their boycott of city buses.

Here, too, the charge was one of operating an unauthorized private enterprise, or business, although on a non-profit basis. The city asked for \$6,000 damages, in addition to the injunction, claiming the car pool has caused a loss of revenue. The city gets 2% of the gross receipts of the boycotted Montgomery City Lines, Inc.

### THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE

The bus boycotts demonstrate that when the demand for democratic rights comes in conflict with property rights, the profit system is upheld.

Those who refuse to accept the half-a-loaf democracy that capitalism offers have only one real alternative: win full liberty, equality and fraternity by organizing not only bus transportation, but all economic activity on a socialist, non-profit basis.



Last March, 100 leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association were indicted under an anti-labor boycott statute. MIA President M. L. King was convicted and the other cases postponed until his still-pending appeal is settled. Pictured above are some of the MIA leaders at the time of the mass arrests. (From L to R) Rev. R. D. Abernathy, Rev. Garner, Rufus Lewis, Rev. Le Roy P. Bennett, Rev. W. F. Alford, Rev. J. H. Cherry, Rev. H. H. Herbert, E. Judkins,

## ... High Court Bus Decision

(Continued from page 1)

the Inter Civic Council at 803 Floral St., Tallahassee, Florida.

Confirmation that the Supreme Court's decision is a general one applying to all states came with today's announcement by Attorney General Brownell that he will hold a conference, Dec. 10, with U.S. Attorneys from 14 Southern and border states to discuss application of the court decision. As in the case of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision, however, it will take substantially more than a Washing-

ton conference to win compliance with the law on this issue. This was demonstrated by the reaction of Southern white-supremacist officials to both the high court's ruling and Brownell's announcement.

In Montgomery, the racist forces have again vowed their determination to preserve Jim Crow travel. The president of the Alabama Public Service Commission declared that despite the court decision, segregation would be maintained throughout the state and ominously warned that integration would bring "violence and bloodshed." The same threat of anti-Negro violence was voiced by Luther Ingalls, head of the White Citizens Councils in Montgomery.

Alabama State Senator Sam Engelhardt, who heads the state association of White Citizens Councils, "predicted" that if the decision is enforced, Montgomery "will have an all-black bus line."

Governors and other top officials of a majority of the Southern states have also publicly declared their intention to defy the Supreme Court decision.

All of these anti-Negro elements are drawing comfort and

confidence from the fact that although the Supreme Court ordered school desegregation two and a half years ago, there is not a single integrated classroom in Alabama today.

This reaction of the racists, coupled with previous experience, clearly indicates that the work of such movements as the Montgomery Improvement Association and the Tallahassee Inter Civic Council cannot be considered completed. It will still take a militant struggle to win enforcement of this decision.

In New York, supporters of the Southern fighters for civil rights will have the opportunity to express their solidarity by attending a concert, Dec. 5, marking the first anniversary of the Montgomery bus-protest movement. The featured artist will be Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., a soprano who has performed with the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

The concert will be held at Manhattan Center at 8:30 p.m. Sponsored by various labor, fraternal and church groups, the proceeds will go to the MIA and to victims of economic boycotts in other parts of the South. Tickets, priced from one to five dollars, may be obtained from "In Friendship" at 122 E. 57th St., New York City.

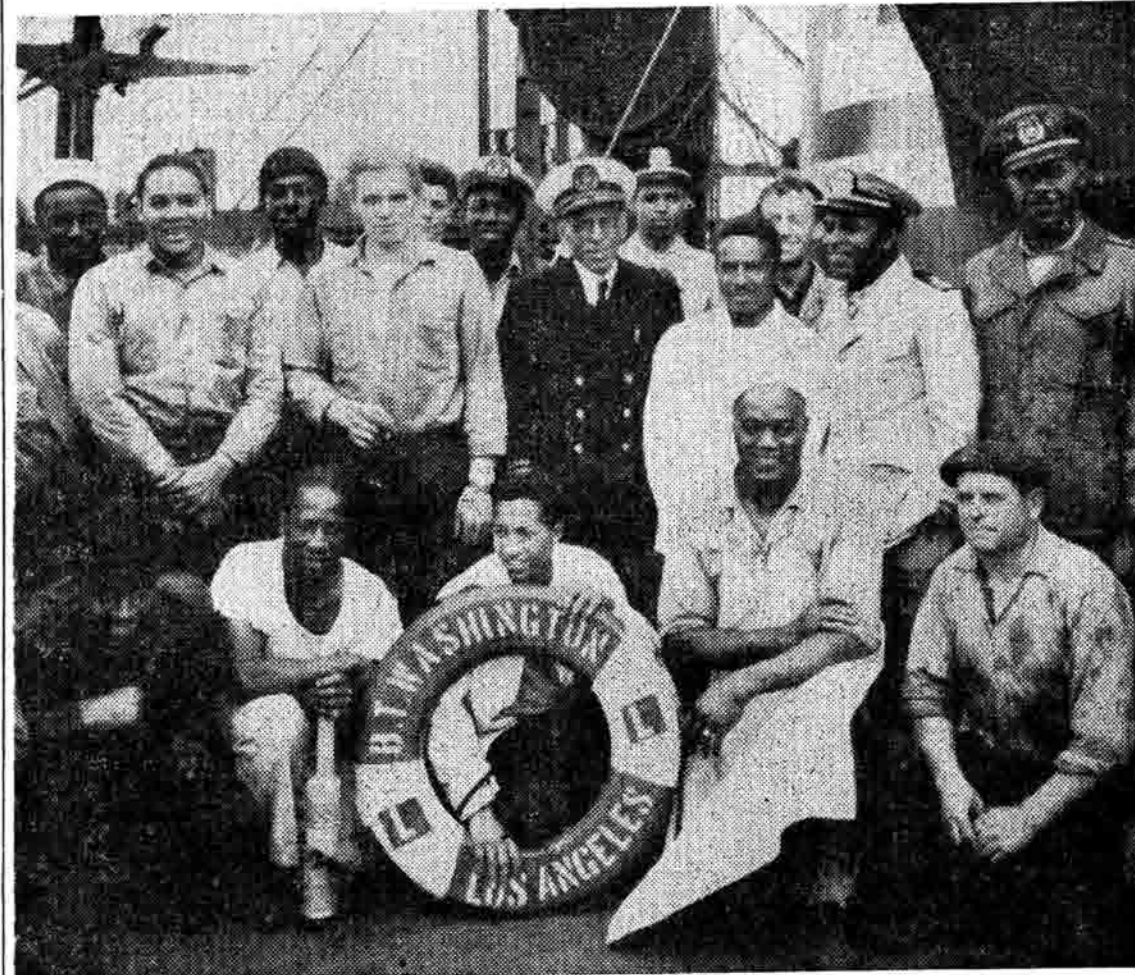
**New York Christmas Bazaar**  
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Sat., Dec. 8 — 12 Noon to 5 PM  
N.Y. School of Social Science  
116 University Place

**NEW YORK Militant Forum**  
Anniversary of the Montgomery Bus Boycott  
An analysis of its historical significance, its history, leaders, and where it is going  
Speakers:  
Fred Halstead  
Militant Staff Writer  
FRIDAY, NOV. 30, 8 PM  
116 University Pl., N.Y.

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North Hall  
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Auspices:  
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## First Negro Skipper in Merchant Marine



Captain Hugh Mulzac (center), first Negro to command a ship in the U.S. Merchant Marine, and part of the crew of the SS Booker T. Washington in 1947. At Mulzac's insistence, the vessel always carried an interracial crew in all departments. Mulzac was "screened" by the Coast Guard as a "security risk" in 1950, because organizations that had helped him fight Jim Crow in shipping had been ruled "subversive." (See story on seaman's victory against "screening" on page one.)

## Our Readers Take the Floor

### Wants AMA Exposed

Editor:

My main point deals with the particular problem of health in the United States today.

The American Medical Association has prepared a definite program against socialized medicine and has printed a pamphlet entitled "Against Socialized Medicine."

I would like to see the Militant devote some space exposing

this organization which would rob the American people of their right to obtain the proper medical care needed at a price which can be afforded by all in low income brackets instead of the high prices now charged by private physicians and clinics.

Something should also be said about the fact that great profit is being made on such vital medical needs as the Salk Polio Vaccine which had originally been intended by Dr. Salk to be given

free of charge, until the American Medical Association thought of a plan to obtain a profit and used their influence to put this plan into effect.

Also, in regards to prevention of diseases, if the U.S. Government would stop spending all the taxpayers money on military expenses, and would set up an effective research program, the cure and prevention of cancer, and all other fatal diseases would be well on the way to being found.

R. P.  
Chicago, Ill.

### Seeks U. S. Education

Editor:

I am through this medium applying for you to assist me, by placing an ad in your paper for me.

I am a poor African lad without parents, and now 17 years of age, but have struggled and reached the third high school.

I am led by the Lord and Jesus Christ to work for safety and peace of my people everywhere but realize that I must be prepared. So I desire to attend college in America.

Therefore I am asking that some kind school or family send for me and complete my education and I faithfully promise to work until I have paid every penny of the expense.

A. P. J.  
Monrovia, Liberia,  
West Africa

(Anyone wishing to get in touch with the above writer may write to him care of the Militant.—Ed.)

## MINE-MILL UNION ATTACKED BY GOV'T IN T-H OATH CASES

The United States Justice Department is again sharpening up its union-busting techniques on the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union. Fourteen officials of the union were indicted Nov. 16 by a Federal grand jury in Denver on charges of "conspiring" to file false Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits.

This is the second blow recently directed at the independent union. In July 1955, the Subversive Activities Control Board was asked to determine that Mine-Mill was a "Communist-infiltrated organization" under the 1954 Communist Control Act. Those proceedings are still pending.

The petition to the SACB involves only civil penalties, such as loss of NLRB rights for the union, while the indictment returned Nov. 16 is a criminal action involving possible penalties of five years' imprisonment and

\$10,000 fine for each of the union officials.

Both of these cases are serious union-busting weapons in the hands of the Big Business government. The government hopes to establish precedents against Mine-Mill which can be used against the rest of organized labor.

Mine-Mill is attacked first because it is one of those unions expelled from the CIO in 1950 and is therefore considered an easier target. The bureaucratic expulsion of the entire membership of a number of unions from the CIO weakened the entire labor movement by leaving important sections of it open to this type of attack.

## UNEMPLOYMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN

[We received the following story from England last month but were unable to print it then for lack of space. The issue of how to fight unemployment caused by new technology ("redundancy," as the British call it) continues to be a vital issue both in the British and American labor movements.—Ed.]

The fight against creeping unemployment remains one of the major issues for debate in the British labor movement.

Unemployment in the Birmingham and Coventry area of Great Britain—the British motor-car industry center—has reached 3% of the working population in recent weeks, and for the first time since before the war, there has been an unemployed demonstration in the streets of Coventry.

Two policies are posed. The right-wing trade union leadership seeks to confine the struggle against unemployment to the demand that the employers consult the workers' representatives before giving them the sack, and that "adequate compensation" be granted.

In the case of last summer's strike at British Motor Corporation, the trade union leadership—forced to call out the workers under the pressure of the rank and file when the B.M.C. sacked 6,000 of them—made a settlement giving those with from three to ten years service, £8

compensation, and those with over ten years service, £16.

### CP POLICY

Militants, however, are fighting for a policy of "no sackings." In the B.M.C. dispute they made the central point a demand that there should be a national mobilization of the labor movement to bring the Tories down, and a fight for a new labor movement, pledged to a program of socialist planning.

In this situation, the Stalinist leadership is concretely aiding the employers, despite their militant phrasemongering.

The last conference of the C.P. went on record for a policy of no sackings. At a "National Discussion Conference" called by the Daily Worker a few weeks before the strike, Joe Scott, a leading Stalinist trade unionist—his a national official of the Amalgamated Engineering Union—put the party policy as follows:

"Instead of accepting the position of unemployment, the workers are saying—quite rightly—that there is ample work in this country for everyone to do, and therefore there is no need for anyone to be unemployed. . . ."

"What we are saying is that in this process of developing machinery, the employer should retain on his books that potential of discharged workers until such times as the worker is able to find a job equivalent to the one he is about to lose." But that all this fighting talk

was so much demagoguery, was shown in the B.M.C. struggle, for faced concretely by a situation in which they could have given the lead on these demands—if they had so desired—the CP high-ups adjusted themselves to the compensation policy of the right wing.

The Daily Worker, the self-styled paper that "campaigns against unemployment—that fights the Tories every inch of the way," hailed the paltry strike settlement as a splendid victory.

Never a word of criticism did it utter against the trade union leadership for failing to face up to the implications of the struggle against unemployment.

However, a real contribution has come from a few hundred workers who since April 30th have been on strike against the sacking of 26 workpeople.

LESSONS FOR ALL LABOR  
These are the workers at the Norton motorcycle factory in Birmingham, and their struggle has earned the admiration of rank and file nationally. They have now published a pamphlet, "The Fight Against Redundancy" by strike leader Harry Finch, a left wing member of the Labor Party and a member of the Birmingham City Council. The pamphlet received a wide circulation.

Not only does it demand support for the strike, but it also draws lessons for the whole Labor Movement.

From these workers—now on strike for six months—comes a tribute to the rank and file of the British Motor Corporation.

"The B.M.C. strikers displayed great courage on the picket lines throughout the strike. They defied the police attempts at intimidation, even to the extent of refusing to give ground when mounted police were sent into to break up mass picketing. Elsewhere pickets sat down in the paths of approaching lorries and even threw themselves on to the bonnets in attempts to stop their passage into the factories."

"When we consider that such splendid fighting spirit was shown on the limited demands of

the strike, readers can well imagine that the response to the strike call would have been even better if the fight had been on the fundamental demand of "No redundancy."

And to sum up they put the following points forward:  
1. No sackings—retention on the pay roll of redundant workers until such time as suitable alternative work is found.

2. An all out national fight for the 40-hour week without loss of pay and the progressive shortening of hours as the situation warrants.

3. Public ownership of the industry as the only firm guarantee of continued employment."

## Dockers' Strike Paralyzes All Ports in U. S.

By Della Rossa

NOV. 20 — Every seaport in the United States was tied up yesterday in the first nation-wide longshore strike in history. The East Coast had already been tied up

from Maine to Texas for four days by the International Longshoremen's Association (independent). Yesterday the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union shut down the West Coast ports in a 24-hour sympathy strike with the ILA.

The central aim of the ILA strike is to win their first coastwise contract. The militancy and solidarity being displayed by the ranks lays a good basis for winning their demand.

The walkout Nov. 15 of the 60,000 ILA members constituted the first effective tieups of all East and Gulf coast ports. There is no sign whatever of the division that existed last month in the union ranks when 40% of the men voted in an NLRB election in favor of affiliation with the AFL-CIO's waterfront setup. All longshoremen have closed ranks to win their demands from the shipowners and stevedoring companies.

### ILA DEMANDS

In addition to the coastwise contract, the ILA is demanding a limitation in slingshots to the 2,240 pounds which has been established on the West Coast for 15 years. Unlimited, man-killing, sling loads are the established practice on the East Coast. The shipowners are fighting this demand because it would mean more work gangs.

The union also wants a 32-cent an hour increase, a two-year contract instead of three, paid holidays and a guarantee of eight hours pay if a man is called back to work in the afternoon. In New York the men now get only a guarantee of two hours pay if they return for work in the afternoon.

The shipowners and stevedoring companies are offering strong resistance to the demands of the dock workers, particularly on the issue of a coastwise contract. As a bargaining club they are threatening to secure an 80-day Taft-Hartley injunction.

The demand for coastwise bargaining represents a major step forward in the long, bitter struggle of the ranks of the ILA to build an organization capable of serving their needs effectively. For too many years the longshoremen in each of the ports were compelled to buck not only the dock bosses but their own officialdom which signed rotten contracts behind their backs.

In New York, during "King" Joseph Ryan's corrupt rule, each new contract set the stage for a hard-fought, two-pronged battle by the men. Ryan would sign contracts that were a disgrace to unionism and then try to jam them down the men's throats. Each time the men would walk off the docks after the contract was signed and slug it out with both the bosses and Ryan's goons

to extract a few concessions from the companies.

As these regular post-contract "wildcats" during the post-war period grew in militancy and effectiveness, the bosses became increasingly disillusioned with their stooge Ryan and the ability of his goons to "discipline" the men. When Ryan and company could no longer curb the militancy of the men, the bosses in collusion with the politicians in New York and New Jersey, moved to dump him. Under the hypocritical guise of a "crusade" against the gangsters whom they had used against the men for years, the bosses and politicians set up a New York-New Jersey, bi-state Waterfront Commission to screen and control the men who came to work on the docks.

### FIGHT GOV'T AGENCY

The ranks of the ILA understood from the beginning the union-busting character of the Waterfront Commission and have resisted it effectively since its creation. While determined to clean the gangsters out of their union they have refused to relegate that necessary job to the Commission. The attempts of the AFL-CIO to take over the docks have been rebuffed by the men on the primary ground of the AFL-CIO's declared support to the Commission.

Last year the ranks of the ILA shut down all the East Coast, Gulf and inland ports in a dramatic eight-day strike against the Commission's efforts to screen out unionists under the guise of eliminating men with prison records. Despite an injunction issued against them, the strike remained solid and compelled the Commission to retreat.



HARRY BRIDGES, President of the ILWU which shut down West Coast ports in 24-hour sympathy strike with East Coast dockers.

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